



PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES EMPLOYED BY FEMALE ELECTION SUPERVISORS TO PREVENT VOTE-BUYING IN THE 2024 ELECTIONS: AN ELABORATION LIKELIHOOD MODEL APPROACH

STRATEGI KOMUNIKASI PERSUASIF YANG DITERAPKAN OLEH PENGAWAS PEMILU PEREMPUAN UNTUK MENCEGAH PRAKTIK POLITIK UANG PADA PEMILU 2024: PENDEKATAN ELABORATION LIKELIHOOD MODEL

Karina Permata Hati^{1*}, Sa'diyah El Adawiyah²

^{1*} Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta, Email: sadiyah.eladawiyah@umj.ac.id

² Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta, Email: karinapermatahati14@gmail.com

*email koresponden: sadiyah.eladawiyah@umj.ac.id

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.62567/micjo.v3i4.3286>

Abstract

This study is motivated by the Election Vulnerability Index (IKP) in South Tangerang, which categorizes money politics as a high-risk indicator, alongside a female registered voter list (DPT) that exceeds the male demographic by 18,727 individuals—a condition frequently exploited through grassroots channels for covert vote-buying. This research analyzes the application of the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) in the persuasive communication strategies employed by female election supervisors at Bawaslu to prevent vote-buying in the 2024 General Election. This study aims to: describe the forms of persuasive communication utilized by female supervisors; identify the media and communication channels employed; and analyze the effects of this persuasive communication in fostering anti-money politics awareness through the lens of ELM. A descriptive qualitative approach with a case study method was employed, using purposive sampling for informant selection. The findings indicate that the persuasive communication strategy combines interpersonal communication and informal small-group communication. Female supervisors applied identification techniques by shedding formal agency attributes and adapting their diction to everyday vernacular to diminish psychological distance with the community. The communication media comprised physical flyers creatively transformed into digital graphics and disseminated through digital interpersonal and social channels, specifically community WhatsApp groups (neighborhood units, Family Welfare Empowerment/PKK, and informal social gatherings/arisan). Based on the ELM analysis, this strategy successfully shifted the cognitive processing of community members toward the Central Route. A comfortable, nondistracting communication setting initially facilitated audience receptivity via the peripheral route, while clear substantive information regarding two-way criminal liability (penalizing both givers and receivers) functioned as high-quality arguments that heightened personal relevance and motivation. Reinforced by physical symbolic gestures rejecting vote-buying to lock in



commitment, the application of ELM proved effective in fostering an autonomous, stable, enduring, and resistant moral stance against money politics.

Keywords : Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), Persuasive Communication Strategy, Female Overseers, Money Politics, What.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh Indeks Kerawanan Pemilu (IKP) di Tangerang Selatan yang mengategorikan politik uang sebagai indikator berisiko tinggi, serta data Daftar Pemilih Tetap (DPT) perempuan yang melebihi jumlah pemilih laki-laki sebanyak 18.727 jiwa sebuah kondisi yang kerap dimanfaatkan melalui saluran akar rumput untuk praktik jual-beli suara secara terselubung. Penelitian ini menganalisis penerapan Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) dalam strategi komunikasi persuasif yang dilakukan oleh pengawas pemilu perempuan di Bawaslu untuk mencegah politik uang pada Pemilu 2024. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah: mendeskripsikan bentuk komunikasi persuasif yang digunakan oleh pengawas perempuan; mengidentifikasi media dan saluran komunikasi yang dimanfaatkan; serta menganalisis dampak komunikasi persuasif tersebut dalam menumbuhkan kesadaran anti-politik uang melalui perspektif ELM. Pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif dengan metode studi kasus digunakan dalam penelitian ini, dengan teknik purposive sampling untuk pemilihan informan. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa strategi komunikasi persuasif tersebut memadukan komunikasi antarpribadi dan komunikasi kelompok kecil yang bersifat informal. Para pengawas perempuan menerapkan teknik identifikasi dengan menanggalkan atribut formal lembaga serta menyesuaikan pilihan kata menggunakan bahasa sehari-hari guna mengurangi jarak psikologis dengan masyarakat. Media komunikasi yang digunakan meliputi selebaran fisik yang diubah secara kreatif menjadi grafis digital dan disebarluaskan melalui saluran digital antarpribadi maupun sosial, khususnya grup WhatsApp komunitas (seperti grup RT/RW, PKK, dan kelompok arisan). Berdasarkan analisis ELM, strategi ini berhasil menggeser proses kognitif anggota masyarakat menuju Central Route (jalur sentral). Suasana komunikasi yang nyaman dan bebas gangguan pada awalnya memfasilitasi penerimaan audiens melalui peripheral route (jalur perifer), sementara informasi substantif yang jelas mengenai pertanggungjawaban pidana dua arah (sanksi bagi pemberi maupun penerima) berperan sebagai argumen berkualitas tinggi yang meningkatkan relevansi personal dan motivasi. Diperkuat dengan gestur simbolis fisik yang menolak politik uang untuk mengukuhkan komitmen, penerapan ELM terbukti efektif dalam menumbuhkan sikap moral yang otonom, stabil, langgeng, dan tangguh dalam melawan politik uang.

Kata Kunci : Model Kemungkinan Elaborasi (ELM), Strategi Komunikasi Persuasif, Pengawas Wanita, Politik Uang, Apa.

1. INTRODUCTION

Bawaslu, KPU, and DKPP (Election Supervisory Honorary Council) are three institutions that play a vital role in the implementation of democracy in Indonesia, both in general elections and elections. The roles of the three are divided based on Law No. 7 of 2017, namely: KPU as the organizer, Bawaslu as the supervisor, and DKPP as the handler of violations of the code of ethics for election organizers. Bawaslu is responsible for monitoring and following up on election violations, as well as ensuring the continuity of a transparent and accountable election process (Banurea, 2023). One of the important elements of democracy is the implementation of elections (Setiawan and Djafar, 2023). In Indonesia, elections are based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution and are carried out with the principles of direct, general, free, secret, honest, and fair (Liando, 2016).



Election 2024 Bawaslu RI released the results of violations that occurred in the Election throughout Indonesia as many as 2,687 cases of violations with 1,953 Report specifications and 734 Findings although of the total only 1,545 cases can be registered or meet the requirements for Violation Handling by Bawaslu to the next level (Bawaslu RI; 2024) seeing the high number of violation cases that occurred in the 2024 Election including in South Tangerang City in the 2024 election with a total of 20 Violations with 03 findings and 17 Reports (Report of the Violation Handling Division of Bawalu South Tangerang City; 2024) Moving on from this, what is the role of the still high number of violations that occurred in Bawaslu South Tangerang City even though this is not the first Election for Election participants who took part in the Party in 2024 this year.



Picture 1 Recapitulation of Reported Election Violations in the 2024 Elections

Sumber : Laporan Bawaslu Kota Tangerang Selatan tahun 2024



Picture 2 Recapitulation of the 2024 DPT in South Tangerang

Source : Web. KPU Tangsel

The biggest challenge for Bawaslu is the high potential for violations, ranging from money politics, the spread of hoaxes, to issues of ethnicity, religion, race and SARA in social media as well as the involvement of prohibited parties in campaigns such as ASN and children. Bawaslu in this case carries out two important functions, namely Prevention and Enforcement. small groups or more specific communities and social media in conducting campaigns, as is known, the Permanent Voter List (DPT) of South Tangerang City from KPU data in 2024 was 1,022,237, including 501,755 men and 520,482 women (KPU Decree No. 198 of 2023). This shows that there are more female voters in South Tangerang City than men, so many election participants choose their vote targets to women with specific communities. However, there are still many patriarchal cultural barriers, limited information, and geographical factors that are still real obstacles for women to be directly and actively involved in politics (Kollo, 2017). Women's right to participate in politics has been guaranteed internationally through CESAW and the Beijing Action Plan, which has been ratified by Indonesia. In the context of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Indonesia is shown as a model country to encourage women's representation in politics. Article 28H paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution and Law No. 7 of 2017 explicitly states the need for a minimum of 30% women's representation in election organizing institutions such as the General Elections Commission (KPU) and the Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). The realization of this quota is important, not only as a form of legal compliance, but also as an effort to create a just and gender-inclusive political structure. There are three important reasons why 30% women's representation in the Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) must be realized. First, there is a strong legal basis at both the international and national levels. Second, the presence of women in political institutions will expand access to policy-making. Third, gender diversity in the election organizing structure will result in regulations that are more inclusive and responsive to vulnerable groups, including women (Aldian, Farid Ma'ruf, 2025).

The South Tangerang City General Election Supervisory Agency in optimizing its supervisory duties, established an ad hoc or temporary supervisory committee such as the Panwascam and PKD at the sub-district level. Panwascam according to Law Number 7 of 2017 article 552 (1) concerning General Elections was formed before the election began and will be disbanded after all series of



election organizing activities have been completed. All Indonesian citizens have the opportunity to participate as election supervisory committees through a series of selection activities including registration, document selection, CAT tests and interviews. The ad hoc nature of Panwascam is a challenge that must be faced because the supervisory function must be carried out periodically and preventive measures must be taken before violations occur. The presence of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee (Panwascam) is an important indicator of the quality of electoral democracy at the local level. This also includes how the recruitment process is carried out in an inclusive and transparent manner, including in fulfilling the principle of gender affirmation. Bawaslu Regulation Number 4 of 2022, Article 5, paragraph (3), emphasizes that the composition of Bawaslu membership at all levels, including the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee (Panwascam), must ensure a minimum of 30 percent female representation. However, various structural and cultural barriers still prevent women from actively participating in election supervision (Fauziah et al., 2023). Lack of political education, uneven socialization, and social stigma against women in the political sector exacerbate the situation. In the context of election oversight, which demands high levels of preparedness, women's roles are often considered unsuitable due to the challenges of uncertain working hours and potential security risks. This perception has resulted in low public trust in women's capabilities in oversight functions (Winarman, 2023).

The existence of female supervisors at the city, sub-district and village levels as female representation is still far from the 30% representation, several factors that are taken into consideration for their selection are not only the small number of women who participate in the competition as applicants, their electoral abilities are less than those of male supervisors and the failure of the initial selection in the written test which causes many female supervisors to fail in participating in the selection, plus the perception that being a sub-district and village supervisor is considered a heavy task that women are less capable of doing. Departing from several previous studies that have discussed a lot about Women's participation to participate fairly and take an important role in the Election both as organizers and Election Participants, this is supported by the issuance of Legislation with the words "Paying Attention to 30% Women's Representation" in Law No. 7 of 2017 and regulations that require the Nomination of Election Participants "Mandatory 30% of Female Candidates" in the 2024 Election PKPU, to the arrangement of the ordering system in the Party which is regulated 3 - 1 in each position there is female representation. But now the big PR is no longer the representation of Women but to further explore the strengths and abilities that Women have when serving as Female Supervisors in Bawaslu at all levels to be able to demonstrate their abilities in carrying out their duties as Supervisors so that Women are able to contribute to supervisory work in the Election. Based on this background, the problem formulation in this research can be structured as follows: "What is the Persuasive Communication Strategy of Female Supervisors in Preventing Money Politics in the 2024 Election Based on *the Elaboration Likelihood Model* ?"

2. RESEARCH METHOD

Money Politics

Money politics is an attempt to influence the behavior of others in elections using certain rewards. Johny Lomulus assesses the practice of money politics as an act of giving a sum of money to a party leader. The goal is to be nominated as a candidate for regional leader or to provide support to the community so that votes from the community can be obtained (Ananingsih, 2016). Aspinall explains in detail that money politics is the giving of money, services, or other economic benefits such as jobs or contracts in the form of a project carried out by a political practitioner. If the target is an individual, money politics can take the form of envelopes containing money or goods. As for groups, money politics can also take the form of providing facilities such as soccer fields for youth in the village. The money funds distributed to voters aim to provide voters with votes originating from personal funds or public funds or so-called barrel projects whose funding sources are through government funds (Aspinall & Sukmajadi, 2026).



Communication Strategy

Communication strategy is a combination of comprehensive communication planning to achieve a goal, one of which is communication strategy which also requires interpersonal communication, interpersonal communication is a process of conveying certain messages of information, thoughts, attitudes between one individual and another (Robbins, 2017). According to R Wayne Pace, Brent D. Peterson and M. Dallas Burnett (in Effendy, 2017) stated that communication strategy has three objectives, namely: *To Secure Understanding* – Ensure the message is received by the communicant ; *To establish acceptance* – foster the recipient of the message ; *To motivate action* – motivated activities.

Persuasive Communication

Persuasive Communication comes from Latin which means *Persuasio*/ with the verb *Persuadere* which means to persuade, invite or seduce. Persuasive itself uses several ways to achieve goals and objectives so it must be planned in detail well. In persuasive communication the process of conveying messages to the communicant is the most important thing with the aim of changing the attitudes, views, opinions and behavior of the communicant (Effendy, 2019) according to Rahmat (2016) the process of influencing people's attitudes, beliefs and behavior by using psychological manipulation so that the person acts as if of his own will . K.Andeerson (Finandia 2020) a behavior that has the aim of changing beliefs, attitudes on the behavior of other individuals or groups through the transmission of several messages. Considering the importance of a role in persuasive communication in everyday life, especially in an organization in everyday life. Mulyana (2023) considers persuasive communication as a process of convincing others so that the public acts and behaves as expected by the communicator by persuading without coercion. Meanwhile, and S. Soemirat (2022) a form of communication whose specific goal is to be able to change the behavior of the communicant as the target of communication. According to Effendy (in Finandia, 2020) communication science is reviewed from its components, form, nature, methods and techniques, where the model, field and system. Persuasive communication falls into the realm of techniques that have the aim to: Change in Attitude ; Change in Opinion ; Change in Behavior ; Social Change.

Elaboration Likelihood Model

The Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), also known as elaboration likelihood theory, was first developed by Richard Petty and John Cacioppo. This model explains how persuasive theory attempts to predict when and how someone will be persuaded or not by a message by examining how they evaluate the information they receive. The ELM is a way for someone to critically evaluate a message. Petty and Cacioppo's ELM model can be formed permanently and temporarily on two paths of message processing: the central path and the peripheral path. The central path is characterized by precision, deep thought, and caution. Information processing occurs systematically and with full consideration of the message received, while in the peripheral path when individuals have low motivation and ability to process messages. The choice of this route has implications for attitude formation (Hendri, 2019) . Little John, Foss & Oetzel (2017) also stated that a message process can occur through a combination of these two lines to a certain extent, depending on how much interest the communicant has in the issue that concerns him.

Female Supervisor

The Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) explains that the word "Woman" refers to a female, usually an adult, possessing biological characteristics that distinguish her from a male. This word also symbolizes gender identity and the social role inherent in women in Indonesian culture and tradition (2020). Women are conceptually not only defined as female humans, but also as social subjects who possess the potential for rights and significant roles in various areas of life. Women themselves are a crucial part of community development due to their diverse roles, including as educators within families, community leaders, and leaders in various social and religious sectors . This perspective demonstrates that women are not merely objects but also active subjects within a social structure. Women often experience subordination due to patriarchal social constructs, but conceptually, Islam



provides equal status for women in both spiritual and social aspects. This understanding necessitates a gender-just approach that recognizes their potential as agents of change within societal structures (Nurhayati, 2019).

Prevention of Election Violations

Prevention, when interpreted, comes from the word *cegah*, which means to try to prevent something from happening, and the word *mencegah* is the noun *cegah*, which means the act of refusing. (Pius Abdillah and Danu Prasetya, 2014). Prevention is a deliberate effort to prevent disruption or damage to someone. Bawaslu's concept of violation prevention focuses on a paradigm that prioritizes early prevention (*prevention*) before law enforcement (*repression*). This is supported by the CAT (Prevent, Monitor, Act) paradigm as the main pillar of supervision.

The research was conducted at Bawaslu South Tangerang City covering sub-districts and villages, representatives of Panwas Perempuan in sub-districts, North Serpong and Setu while the village level includes 2 villages spread across 7 districts that have Female Supervisors during the 2024 Election. The method used in this study is using a qualitative approach (Creswell, 2018). with a descriptive analysis case study and in data collection using interview and documentation techniques. This method involves collecting data sources from various informants starting from City level Supervisors, Panwancam sub-district level and at the Village level (PKD) in South Tangerang City and as data validation the researcher will also interview the community who participated in face-to-face socialization with Panwascam, PKD and Bawaslu

INFORMANT DETERMINATION TECHNIQUE

The research informants are : One person from the Head of Bawaslu of South Tangerang City , One person from the Prevention Division of Bawaslu of South Tangerang City , One person from the Violation Handling Division of Bawaslu of South Tangerang City , Two people from the Women's Supervisory Committee at the Sub-district Level , Two people from the Women's Supervisory Committee at the village level . Data collection techniques According to Sugiyono (2020:105) states that in general there are 4 (four) types of data collection techniques, namely observation, interviews, documentation and combination/triangulation (observation, interviews and observation). According to Miles and Huberman in Sugiyono (2020:133), activities in qualitative data analysis are carried out interactively and continue continuously until complete, so that the data is saturated. Using triangulation of informant sources and data. Here, the author compares the results of the documentation he observed with the data analysis he conducted and interviews conducted from two sides: women and community supervisors . In this case, the group that received face-to-face socialization on preventing money politics.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

General description

The General Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of South Tangerang City is an election organizing institution tasked with overseeing the implementation of elections in the South Tangerang city area. Institutionally, Bawaslu South Tangerang City was officially established as a permanent election supervisory institution on August 14, 2018. This is based on the mandate of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning general elections, as well as Bawaslu RI Decree Number 0633/K.BAWASLU/HK.01.01/VIII/2018.

Prior to 2018, election supervision at the city/district level was still ad hoc (temporary) under the name of the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) which was formed only when entering the stages of either the General Election or Pilkada at the provincial and city levels. Transformation into a permanent institution gives Bawaslu South Tangerang City stronger and sustainable authority, especially in carrying out efforts to prevent, take action, and resolve disputes in the election process and Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in the South Tangerang City area.



Currently, the South Tangerang City Bawaslu is entering its second leadership period where the election of the person in charge is based on participation in the test conducted by the Indonesian Bawaslu.



Picture 3 Profil Bawaslu Kota Tangerang Selatan

Sumber: Web Bawaslu Kota Tangerang Selatan

Research Results and Discussion.

Forms of Persuasive Communication Used by Female Supervisors in Preventing Money Politics in South Tangerang City in the 2024 Election

Form The dominant persuasive communication used at the sub-district and village levels by Panwascam and PKD Perempuan is direct face-to-face interpersonal communication and group approaches through small forums in the community. Meanwhile, at the Bawaslu level, South Tangerang City utilizes mass communication using media or large groups. This communication is carried out informally in the daily activities of residents, such as when taking children to school, mingling in the midst of teacher gatherings, traveling vegetable sellers, RT activities to visiting community leaders directly. The issue of money politics, which is known to be very closed and sensitive among the urban community of South Tangerang City, is being handled by the Female supervisors change their appearance and everyday language style to avoid fear or distance themselves from residents. Early evidence from the field shows that female supervisors at the sub-district election supervisory committee (Panwascam) and district election supervisory committee (PKD) levels deliberately remove their official Panwas field uniforms. They mingle in casual clothing, casual hijabs, or everyday Muslim attire, much like typical housewives. This approach creates a relaxed, friendly atmosphere, encouraging residents to openly share information. This fact can be described from the results of interviews with researchers together with Bawaslu, Panwascam, PDK and local communities in the North Serpong and Setu areas, where each is interrelated.

"... these women are flexible not only in socializing in limited spaces such as public meetings but also in more flexible spaces, such as in everyday life, we use their daily habits which are carried out by mingling more in groups in daily habits such as shopping at the greengrocer, when dropping off their children at school and hobby enthusiasts, we make flyers that are easy to carry so they can carry them in their daily lives, such as to the greengrocer and when making shopping transactions in their daily lives, they will give the flyers to the people they meet".

In harmony with the opinion of the North Serpong Panwascam when interviewed regarding the form of persuasive communication carried out with the community.

"I conduct outreach activities on a smaller scale. I find it more effective than gathering large groups of people in one space. I conduct outreach within the neighborhood unit (RT) and the local PKD (Community Development Planning Agency) within its jurisdiction."

This is also similar to the interviews conducted by the Village Supervisor in North Serpong

"I am conducting outreach for the purpose of prevention by directly communicating with people, ma'am, and the neighborhood association (RT) group, remembering that we don't have any outreach costs."



"Yesterday, they came with their sub-district election supervisory committee (Panwascam) and gave us the information directly during a religious study session at the mosque, which we usually do monthly. They explained the rules and handed out information brochures." (Supi'ah PKK - Setu)

"...providing information during routine religious studies and monthly PKK activities, explaining the dangers of political money, and then there are prison sentences for those who give and receive it, they are both in prison," he said (Tukin Pengajian Nurul Iman)

From the results of field interviews and observations conducted by researchers starting from Bawaslu South Tangerang City, Panwascam, PKD and the Community who directly experienced the ongoing communication with Female Supervisors, direct communication was carried out either when meeting directly with the target or through small groups, in all events that took place by utilizing local routine activities, monthly Arisan which is indeed held every month and the Koranic study activities of PKK Cadres in Setu sub-district which is their routine activity. In this realm, Female Supervisors utilize these spaces to convey the Prevention of Money Politics. During their time as Panwascam and PKD which is attached to themselves as Supervisors, they do not forget to convey messages Personally / Intrapersonal Communication to relatives, Friends and their environment to provide education and information in the form of prevention. Several opinions also strengthen the form of persuasive communication carried out by Female Supervisors in trying to prevent Money Politics Apart from being done verbally to strengthen the message they convey, they also include nonverbal movements to increase the ease of remembering and interest in the message.

"... what I remember most was this movement, sis... rejecting money politics" (Tukin Pengajian Nurul Iman)

"... we try to convey a direct message and slogan of the Reject Money Politics Movement to the mothers when we gather, usually at the end of the visit while taking photos" (Murti Panwascam Serpong Utara)

In addition to utilizing interpersonal communication that female supervisors try to do and the use of small groups to prevent money politics, female supervisors also use non-verbal forms by raising five fingers with their right hand forward with the message "Reject Money Politics" which they usually do when carrying out prevention at the end of the moment.

Media and Communication Channels Used by Female Supervisors in Efforts to Prevent Money Politics

Media and Communication Channels are two different things but are closely related in the context of communication, where media tries to refer to the tools or platform that used to convey messages or information with intent and purpose can influence how the message is delivered and responded to by the recipient. *The first fact is that* female supervisors shifted their prevention locus to small groups spread widely in the domestic space of residents. Places of daily community interaction, such as the women's religious study forum of the Majelis Taklim in Setu and regular social gatherings held at the RW level, Posyandu cadres, dasawisma communities, and even conversations while taking children to school and shopping for vegetables around, are used as the main channels to convey the appeal to reject money politics. **Second**, utilizing the small group's channels, the South Tangerang City Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) produced and provided female supervisors with a teaching aid in the form of flyers. These flyers were designed in a practical size so they could easily be carried in their daily activities. The flyers contained down-to-earth legal information, with a primary emphasis on educating the public that both the giver and recipient of money politics are subject to criminal sanctions.

"...we made flyers that are easy to carry so that they can carry them in their daily lives, such as to the greengrocer and when making shopping transactions in their daily lives, they will give the flyers to the people they meet..."

Bawaslu itself plans and strategies using flyers as communication aids to prevent money politics by Panwascam and PKD in interviews at different locations, giving the same opinion.



"For female supervisors specifically, we provide them with: first, easier access to the PPK activities within their work areas, as male supervisors have difficulty accessing them. ...second, we direct them to conduct outreach within existing women's communities. ...they are also provided with tools such as brochures containing various laws and articles on money politics..."

This is also similar to the interviews conducted by the Supervisor in the Village and Mrs. Supiah in Setu.

"I was given a brochure before, ma'am... I told the men and children at home about it." (PKK community service - Setu)

"...we conducted outreach with several small forums such as the Family Welfare Movement (PKK), neighborhood associations (RW), and neighborhood associations (RT). We also joined religious study groups. In schools, there are usually women's groups. Bawaslu gave us brochures to hand out during outreach." (Siti Juhroh-PDK)

Even though officers at the sub-district level are often faced with limited operational budgets for socialization, the flexibility of the Women's Supervisory Movement in utilizing door-to-door channels continues to run independently and interpersonally, as emphasized by Mrs. Lala PKD North Serpong.

"If we just rely on socialization, it's difficult, ma'am. Basically, when we're going to meet friends, distant relatives in the neighborhood where I work with my husband, basically we tell them, we chat, we share. When we're together with the ladies doing gymnastics while resting, we also chat one-on-one, we share the information via Whatsapp. So it's not just if there's a campaign, ma'am, people know that we're Panwas. In WA groups I also share flayernya while remembering" (Interview results in May 2026)

In addition to physical face-to-face communication, field observations also demonstrate the use of local community-based electronic communication channels. Village supervisors and women's community service (PKD) officers tactically infiltrate and integrate into residents' digital communication networks, including through social media WhatsApp groups at the neighborhood level, women's groups they participate in, and Family Welfare Movement (PKK) cadre groups. These steps are taken by the women supervisors as an effective shortcut to penetrate the private spaces of South Tangerang's urban residents, who are often highly busy and difficult to meet in person. Media Communication studies show that in utilizing both physical and digital small group channels, the South Tangerang City Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) produced and provided female supervisors with visual aids in the form of concise brochures/flyers. Interestingly, these flyers were not only distributed in print, but also converted by the female supervisors into digital image formats for widespread distribution within the residents' WhatsApp groups.

The Effect of Persuasive Communication of Female Supervisors in Increasing Anti-Money Politics Awareness in Society.

Various facts have been found to justify the acceptance of the provision of Money Politics in the community, starting from local customs that consider it a common custom during elections, or the excuse of the giver who gives it as Economic Assistance for the recipient. These forms of Money Politics are also sometimes less understood by the Community, because they are not only in the form of Money but can be other Materials with price conversions exceeding the limits set by KPU regulations. From here, the understanding of the Anti-Money Politics message that must be given to Panwascam and PKD based on facts in the field under the pretext of ignorance of understanding the Election Law.

"Many in my area consider this a tradition or a popular celebration where money is traditionally given as a way to welcome elections. They don't understand the nature of money politics. Sometimes I smile first to create a more comfortable atmosphere when faced with this situation. But I encourage them by emphasizing that we are smarter now, we know what is wrong and what is not allowed by the rules. One special message I always convey is that both the giver and the receiver are subject to prison." (Rukoyah Panwas Setu)



"Yes, that's what makes us afraid. 50,000 rupiah could land us in prison if money politics is proven. Sometimes the money isn't much, but the risks are greater. If it weren't for the woman's story yesterday, we wouldn't have known that." (Tukin Nurul Iman, North Serpong)

"Yes, we think that the 50 thousand we received carries a big risk if we are caught, or reported, it could be up to 3 years in prison" (Supiah PKK Setu)

Facing the existing facts, the South Tangerang City Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) has made the Two-Way Criminal Sanctions material a mandatory educational instrument in every small group socialization. The Women Supervisors tried to correct the misunderstanding that occurred by referring to the applicable regulations, especially the provisions in the Law which explicitly state that both those who give and those who receive money or goods to influence political choices are subject to criminal sanctions and fines of approximately 300 million rupiah. This is also supported by evidence from cases that have been handled by the South Tangerang City Election Supervisory Agency up to the court's Ikhras. Facts in the field show that when this information is received and conveyed firmly but with public relations delivery in social gatherings or religious study forums and neighborhood associations (RT) gatherings, it can provide a psychological response in the form of a shock effect and anxiety among mothers. This was confirmed directly in an interview with one of the Women's PKD, Mrs. Murti in the North Serpong area:

"Pan, we don't know what money politics is, ma'am. It turns out there are many kinds. What we know is that if we are only given money to vote, then it is money politics. Like being given basic necessities, cheap prizes, and sometimes fans or other gifts, we don't understand. This lack of knowledge is what sometimes requires a slow understanding. Even though sometimes the mothers have been told about it, they still accept it, but if I don't vote, I'm good at it. I know you could be imprisoned." (Tukin Nurul Iman Serpong Utara)

The two-way presentation of the criminal sanctions material triggered a psychological shock and marked the completion of the presentation of facts on the ground related to the South Tangerang City Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) strategy. The phenomenon of changing public attitudes from initially permissive, trying to normalize, hoping to become resistant to the threatening legal risks, this became a cognitive statement that made them move their desire to understand Money Politics from the recipient's perspective. In terms of socializing this severe criminal article, the female supervisory team tried to make a difference in terms of the packaging of the delivery not as a form of repressive power threats but rather a form of preventive education that protects the safety of citizens and the good name of the family. Grassroots communities permissively believe that in money politics transactions, the only parties guilty and subject to criminal prosecution are political candidates or their campaign teams, who act as the givers, while the public, as the recipients, is safe from legal entanglement. Almost all participants in the socialization efforts indicated a lack of knowledge of the legal regulations applicable to the 2024 Election, leading them to justify accepting the money politics. This is in accordance with several interview results related to the affirmation of the legal subjects of money politics actors and the special messages they always try to convey as a form of shock response.

Female Supervisors try to improve cognitive abilities through verbal identification, Panwascam and PKD in this case consciously translate difficult legal terms by mentioning articles and complicated and rigid legal language into everyday domestic language (analogous to kitchen and shopping matters and calculating political money received with daily calculations). This eliminates technical language barriers so that housewives have the full ability to digest the messages of the socialization material delivered by Panwascam.

"We're trying to build a narrative about how cheap it is to receive 100,000. We're trying to calculate the mathematical cost. If we divide it by the monthly and daily salaries over a five-year term of leadership." (Juhroh PKD)

This is also similar to the interviews conducted by the Village Supervisors and the Community in North Serpong.



"That's what makes us afraid: 50,000 rupiah could land us in prison if proven guilty of money politics. Sometimes the money isn't much, but the risks are much greater." (Tukin Pengajian Nurul Iman)

"I think there are two things, the first is that the recipient and the giver will now both be subject to criminal penalties. The second is the amount of 100,000 if it is converted into only 50 rupiah per day." (Lala PKD)

In the field, several facts were also found related to the Reporting and Findings data at the Sub-district and City levels, whether there were still reports of Money Politics in the area, and how the community reacted when they learned about the impact of the two-way sanctions they would receive.

"Money politics cases began to decline during the 2024 quiet period. There were cases in 2020 that went to court. Yesterday, there was a decrease. Although there were still a few cases, there was a significant decrease. Some indicators include a decrease in public and team reports during the quiet period, including money politics. (Head of the South Tangerang Election Supervisory Agency) ”.

This is also similar to the interview conducted by the Head of the Prevention Sub-Division at the South Tangerang City Election Supervisory Agency.

"Findings and reports related to election violations, including money politics in campaigns during the quiet period, have decreased significantly, due to the understanding of election participants and the public regarding the regulations that have been conveyed, which is also proven by reports coming to Bawaslu or Panwascam as well as findings in the ranks of election supervisors at the lower levels."

The empirical testimony from the community above proves that the series of interpersonal persuasive communication strategies implemented by the Women Supervisors successfully penetrated the residents' permissive defenses. Although it cannot be definitively determined whether or not money politics was still accepted during the quiet period or during the election stages, the use of reporting indicators and findings from the sub-districts and villages can be used as a reference for this research. The Female Supervisors continued to carry out various measures until the quiet day, conducting joint supervisory patrols with the Prosecutor's Office and the Police. This also aimed to maximize the prevention efforts implemented by the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee (Panwascam), the Elections Supervisory Agency (PKD), and the Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) to minimize political interference. The culmination of this prevention effort was the day before voting at the polling stations (TPS).

Discussion

Analysis of Persuasive Communication Forms Used by Female Supervisors in Preventing Money Politics in South Tangerang City in the 2024 Election

Facts in the field show that Panwascam and PKD Perempuan move directly from people from one group to another in between the daily activities of residents, taking advantage of routine activities carried out by residents such as at the mobile vegetable seller's base or when taking children to school, and routine monthly RT / RW activities. Referring to Devito's concept, this form of face-to-face interaction is Interpersonal Communication. In this case, the action of the Female Supervisor who removed the official Bawaslu uniform and changed into casual everyday clothes aims to break down the distance so that communication runs equally. As stated by Mulyana, face-to-face interpersonal communication allows Female Supervisors to witness the reactions of residents directly, both verbally (speech) and nonverbally (expressions of surprise) . Success While persuasion regarding the message of preventing money politics has been highly successful, it also has its drawbacks. The limited reach of the field makes it difficult to evenly cover the areas under the supervision of the Panwascam and PKD. Furthermore, their limited presence, with only one person per sub-district, presents a challenge in addressing the considerable population data in South Tangerang City.

The second form of communication is optimizing small groups. Female supervisors are trying to maximize this by participating in domestic social forums such as routine neighborhood association



social gatherings (arisan) and religious study groups frequently attended by political participants and Posyandu cadres during their monthly activities. Based on Devito's classification, this interaction constitutes small group communication. The characteristics of small groups, according to your theory, are that the process is dialogical and demonstrated through the communicant's cognition. The communicator positions female supervisors as having performed this role very well. In front of social gatherings or religious study groups, female supervisors act as informants, delivering educational material logically. They transform rigid legal terms into language easily understood by most of the mothers present. This is attempted to be built so that the community's logic can properly and easily understand that the envelope money is not commensurate with the negative impacts it will receive .



Picture 4 Small-Group Outreach for the Family Welfare Empowerment (PKK) Group in Setu Subdistrict, Neighborhood Associations (RT), and the Nurul Iman Religious Study Group

Source: Supervision Form A Reports of Panwascam and PKD

Analysis of Media and Communication Channels Used by Women's Supervision in Efforts to Prevent Money Politics.

Effectiveness The prevention of money politics at the grassroots level occurs due to the adaptive integration between the use of digital print media and the optimization of community social communication channels. Election Media and persuasive communication channels are important factors in determining whether a message is well-received by the target audience or encounters obstacles. Hendri Ezi explained that communication channels are divided into two main dimensions that have complementary functions: interpersonal channels and mediated channels.

Communication is carried out in two ways, namely direct face-to-face communication with personal and small group communication for Panwascam and PKD and Mass Communication for the City level while in the use of media used by Female Supervisors in their various activities is supported through Social Media among the groups they try to follow and do as well as tools in the form of flyers with material content related to legal sanctions and the last prohibition of Money Politics assisted by Non-Verbal Movements to help them strengthen the message by raising 5 right fingers forward. The channels used by Female Supervisors are; 1) Interpersonal communication channels which are a form of direct face-to-face communication, with very personal messages between individuals, this channel can also include email, personal Whatsapp and telephone calls made by Female Supervisors ; 2). Group communication channels by directly visiting ongoing activities held by the group, RT / RW social gatherings < religious studies and PKK and Posyandu ; 3). Public communication channels



participate in the implementation of campaigns carried out by candidates by always recording recommendations and prevention to the Community during the campaign.

Analysis of the Effects of Persuasive Communication of Female Supervisors in Increasing Anti-Money Politics Awareness in Society.



Picture 5 Flyer Distributed During Community Outreach Activities

Source: Bawaslu of South Tangerang Municipality

Dissecting the message linearly using the Elaboration Likelihood Model Theory to understand the process of the message given and calculate the communication effect of the message delivered. The effect of increasing anti-money politics awareness is determined by how the audience's cognitive process in choosing the route of managing the information received, whether through the Central Route or the Peripheral Route .

Analysis of Message Delivery Style on peripheral routes with low involvement reception.

The analysis results show that in the initial stage of interactions that occurred in the field, the ranks of female supervisors intelligently used a casual, simple, empathetic message delivery style, as well as a demonstration of hand gestures rejecting money politics to trigger this peripheral route as the main entry point. Signals outside the content of the message in the form of friendliness, emotional atmosphere that was tried to be built and authority as a female supervisor, a sense of respect and physical hand gestures rejecting money politics that were followed together by the mothers succeeded in melting some of the psychological fortresses of the residents. According to Petty and Cacciopo's theory (Hendri 2019), if an individual receives a message in a comfortable state, it will be transmitted through the central pathway, resulting in a stronger impact. Conversely, if the message is received in an uncomfortable state or is irrelevant to the individual, it will be transmitted through the weaker peripheral pathway. This is what the Women Supervisors are trying to build, choosing a comfortable delivery style by joining neighborhood association (RT) social gatherings, religious study groups, and community WhatsApp groups. The friendly atmosphere, free from formal instructional pressure, and the joint demonstration of hand gestures to reject political money are key factors in the mothers' cognitive readiness to receive information more accurately and openly from the start.

Central Route Activation through motivation and ability

Although the convenience of the leadership style of delivering messages in the peripheral route is used at the beginning of the interaction, the main goal of the South Tangerang City Election Supervisory Agency is to direct the audience to the information processor on the central route which is characterized by precision, thought, depth and care, processing information locally and fully considering the elements of the message. The central route involves elaboration or critical thinking in evaluating information. Through this route a person will actively think and consider all the arguments presented carefully and thoroughly so that elaboration on this route requires a high level of cognitive effort. As stated by Litterjhon, Foss & Oetzel (2017) the message process can occur through a combination of the two routes to a certain extent depending on how high the personal connection of the issue is to a person. The ranks of Female Supervisors in this case Panwascam and PKD try to trigger the motivational and ability aspects of the audience through two important drivers: a) Ability Factors ; Female Supervisors have succeeded in selecting the citizens' abilities through delivering messages using diction terms in a language that is easier to understand on a daily basis, so that citizens



can more easily understand the meaning of messages on election issues that occur without experiencing cognitive barriers ; b) Motivation Factors , The motivation of citizens to switch to the central route soared sharply when the Female Supervisor delivered the Message and Emphasis "Recipients and Givers are both subject to Criminal Law" especially when the delivery was accompanied by examples of cases that were actually handled and the court's consent. Two-Way Sanctions emphasized that the risk of recipients being imprisoned while boosting the personal connection of the issue because it concerns physical safety and the good name of the family, thus triggering information processing in conditions of high involvement. The emphasized parable was also about just because Rp. 100,000 could be a fine of Hundreds of Millions and a Prison Sentence of 3 years ; c) The Effect of Clarity of Information and Symbolic Movements , Citizens actively elaborated the message, namely the process of critically evaluating the contents of the message by weighing the risk of criminal law imprisonment with the nominal benefit of a small amount of dawn attack money.

The acceleration of this central route is strengthened by the presence of two reinforcing factors: information clarity and symbol internalization. As proven by Fabrigar et.al (2006), the amount of information or the extent of an individual's knowledge prior to the attitude object determines the strength of the attitude change experienced by the individual. The physical presence of flyers and the regular distribution of digital images of the RT WhatsApp group provide constant information clarity for residents. Meanwhile, the hand gesture rejecting money politics practiced at the end of the session is no longer just a peripheral gesture, but has risen to become a symbol of cognitive commitment on the central route. The physical activity of moving the hands together locks the residents' subconscious memories, so that when they are approached by the person giving the money during a quiet period, the memory of the hand gesture rejecting is automatically reactivated in their minds.

4. CONCLUSION

The forms of persuasive communication employed by female election supervisors, particularly Panwascam and PKD personnel, can be broadly categorized into two main approaches: interpersonal communication and small-group communication. At the interpersonal level, female Panwascam and PKD personnel adopt a direct, person-to-person approach in an informal manner, particularly within the daily activities and social interactions of local communities. They utilize concise printed brochures containing information on the legal provisions and two-way criminal sanctions, emphasizing that both the giver and the recipient of vote-buying practices may be subject to criminal penalties. These materials are distributed through interpersonal communication by using physical communication channels within residents' domestic and community environments, such as social gatherings, religious study groups, integrated health service posts, community activities, and other local forums. The persuasive communication strategies implemented have generated significant and lasting changes in attitudes among grassroots voters. One of the primary effects is the clarification and correction of legal misunderstandings within the community. Residents are provided with clear and firm information regarding the two-way criminal sanctions, namely that both the giver and the recipient of money in vote-buying practices may be subject to criminal prosecution. The combination of clear information regarding legal risks, which encourages a rational sense of caution, a gentle and situationally appropriate communication style that creates a comfortable environment, and the reinforcement of commitment through a physical gesture of raising or extending the hand as a symbol of rejecting money politics has proven effective in encouraging citizens to think critically. Ultimately, the persuasive communication process has contributed to the development of an independent moral awareness within families, strengthening their commitment to categorically reject any form of monetary inducement related to electoral choices.

5. REFERENCES

- Ananingsih, SW (2016). Challenges in handling alleged money politics practices in the 2017 simultaneous regional elections. *Legal Issues* , 45(1), 49-57.



- <https://doi.org/10.14710/mmh.45.1.2016.49-57>. Affandi, I., Indrawan, I., & Nurhayati, N. (2020). Political Education and Gender Equality: Women as Political Subjects.
- Aldian, & Ma'ruf, F. (2025). *Women's Representation in Political Institutions: Legal Basis, Policy Access, and Election Inclusiveness*.
- Arifin, Anwar. 2020. *Communication Research: Pioneering the Discovery of Theories and Models*. Bandung: Simbiosia Rekatama Media.
- Arikunto, Suharsimi. 2020. *Research Procedures: A Practical Approach*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Aspinall, E., & Sukmajati, M. (Eds.). (2016). *Money politics in Indonesia: Patronage and clientelism in the 2014 legislative elections*. Yogyakarta: PolGov.
- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for sale: General elections, clientelism, and the state in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Abdillah, Pius and Prasetya, Danu, 2014, *Complete Indonesian Dictionary*, Arkola, Surabaya. Language Development and Fostering Agency. (2020). *Big Indonesian Dictionary (Fifth Edition)*. Balai Pustaka.
- Banurea, OK (2023). *Effectiveness of Digital-Based Campaign Monitoring: Preventing Violations of Digital-Based Campaign Practices*. Mediation: Journal of Law.
- Bawaslu. (2024) *2024 Election Violations Report*. Jakarta: Bawaslu RI.
- Bawaslu. (2024) *Report on Handling of 2024 Election Violations*. Tangsel: Bawaslu Tangsel
- Bawaslu (2024) *Report of the Human Resources and Training Division 2024*. Tangsel: Bawaslu Tangsel.
- Cangara, Hafied. 2023. *Political Communication: Concepts, Theories, and Strategies (Revised Edition)*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- Cangara, Hafied. 2021. *Introduction to Communication Science (Fifth Edition)*. Depok: Rajawali Pers.
- Creswell, J. W. (2018). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. SAGE Publications, Inc; fifth edition
- Effendy, Onong Uchjana. 2019. *Science, Theory, and Philosophy of Communication*. Bandung: PT Citra Aditya Bakti.
- Effendy, Onong Uchjana. 2017. *Communication Science: Theory and Practice*. Bandung: Rosdakarya Youth
- Endang Sulastris & Nida Handayani. (2017). Recruitment Patterns for Election Organizers at the PPS and KPPS Levels for Elections with Integrity. <https://11nq.com/y8udo6t>
- Fauziah, N., et al. (2023). Women's Participation and Challenges in the 2024 Election. *Journal of Social Issues (JMI)*, BRIN
- Fabrigar, LR, Petty, RE, Smith, SM, & Crites, SL, Jr. (2006). *Understanding knowledge effects on attitude-behavior consistency: The role of relevance, complexity, and amount of knowledge*. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90 (4), 556–577. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.4.556>
- Finandia Agustina. (2020). *Understanding Persuasive Communication*: Public Relations, University of Indonesia
- Griffin. (2014) " *A First Look at Communication Theory* ". New York: McGraw-Hill Companies
- Hicks, Herbert G. and G. Ray Gullett. 1996. *Organizations: Theory and Behavior*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- Hendri Ezi, M.Sc. 2019. *Persuasive Communication: Approaches and Strategies*. Bandung: Rosdakarya Youth
- Kriyantono, Rachmat. 2022. *Practical Techniques for Quantitative and Qualitative Communication Research (Second Edition)*. Jakarta: Prenada Media (Kencana).
- Kollo, FL (2017). Patriarchal Culture and Women's Participation in Politics. Proceedings of the 3rd National Conference on Citizenship, p-ISSN, 2598, 5973.



- Liando, DM (2016). *Elections and Public Political Participation (A Study on the 2014 Legislative Elections and the Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections in Minahasa Regency)*. *Journal of the LPPM for the Field of Ecosoc, Culture, and Law*
- LinaWati 2020 communication strategy of Tangerang City Election Supervisory Agency in efforts to take action against violations of the 2019 presidential election campaign <https://ejournal.moestopo.ac.id/index.php/pustakom/article/view/1017> ,
- Liliweri Alo. (2014). *Communication: Everything, Everything, Everything Meaning* . Jakarta, Kencana Pernada Media Group.
- Liliweri, Alo. (2017). *Interpersonal Communication* . Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media .
- Littlejohn, S. W., Foss, K. A., & Oetzel, J. G. (2017). *Theories of Human Communication* (11th ed.). USA: Waveland Press.
- Mulyana, Deddy. 2023. *Communication Science: An Introduction* . Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Moleong, Lexy J. 2022. *Qualitative Research Methodology (Revised Edition)* . Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Nurhayati, " *Gender Construction in Islamic Perspective and Its Relevance to Women's Roles*, " *Al-Fikra Journal: Islamic Scientific Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2019)
- Notosoedirdjo, M. & Latipun (2021) *Mental health, concepts and applications* , Malang, UMM Press
- Pureklolon, TT (2016). *Political communication: Maintaining the integrity of academics, politicians, and statesmen* . Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- PutriLeo 2025 Supervision of Money Politics Practices by Bawaslu South Tangerang in the Regional Head Election Process in South Tangerang City in 2024 <https://www.journal.epistmikpress.id/index.php/JOGPP/article/view/421/212>
- Election Commission Regulation No. 4 of 2017 in the third part of the chapter on prohibitions and sanctions
- Rakhmat, Jalaluddin. 2016. *Communication Research Methods: Complete with Statistical Analysis Examples* . Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Robbins, SP, & Judge, TA (2017). *Organizational behavior* (R. Saraswati & F. Sirait, Trans.; 16th ed.). Salemba Empat
- Rosady Ruslan, *Public Relations Campaign Tips and Strategies* , (Jakarta: Grafindo Persada, 2021)
- Sa'diyah El Adawiyah .(2019). *Women's Political Communication Strategy in Achieving Regional Leadership*. IPB Dissertation.
- Shahreza, Mirza. 2018. *Ethics of Political Communication* . Tangerang: Indigo Media.
- Setiawan, HD, & Djafar, TM (2023). Political Participation of Young Voters in the Implementation of Democracy in the 2024 Election. *Populis: Journal of Social and Humanities*, 8(2), 201. <https://doi.org/10.47313/pjsh.v8i2.2877>
- Sugiyono. (2020). *Quantitative, Qualitative, and R&D Research Methods* . Bandung: Alfabeta
- Sugiyono. 2020. *Understanding Qualitative Research* , (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2020)
- KPU Decree No. 198 of 2023
- Surbakti, Ramlan and Fitrianto, Hari (2015) *Transformation of Bawaslu and Public Participation in Election Supervision* , Jakarta: Kemitraan.
- Soleh Soemirat, Asep Suryana. 2022. *Persuasive Communication* . South Tangerang: Open University.
- Winarman, YA (2023). *Participation of Women's Groups in Supervising the Implementation of the 2024 General Election in the Karangmojo Subdistrict, Gunungkidul Regency* . Yogyakarta: Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta
- Undang-undang (UU) Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemilihan Umum.